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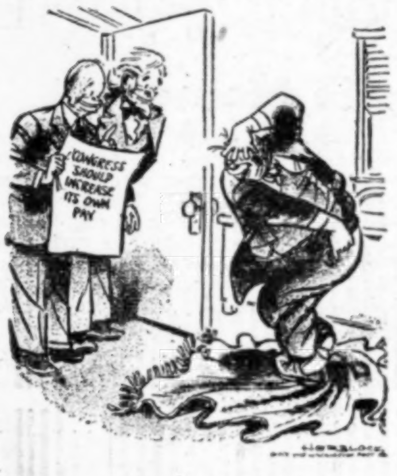
THE NATION

Ike shrugs off farmers, labor and civil rights, plugs Congress pay rise

THE 84th CONGRESS, with Democrats in control, opened on Jan. 5 in what one observer called "a rare spirit of sweet charity and brotherly love." House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas said for his fellow-Democrats:

> "We are going to look upon the President's recommendations with kindliness because he is the leader of our country."

On Jan. 6 the President reported to a joint session of Congress on the State of the Union and found it good. The kindliness persisted through the hour-long address, but interest waned long before the last word was spoken. There was little applause at any point; one N.Y. **Times** reporter wrote:


CONGRESS SHOULD INCREASE ITS OWN PAY
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post

"You mean little ol' me?"

> "The 84th Congress received President Eisenhower's recommendations . . . with a good deal of unexcited hospitality."

NODDING PLATITUDES: Another recorded that when the speech

> ". . . was 30 minutes gone, interest in the audience was obviously flagging, and from that point the chamber sank deeper and deeper into somnolence. . . . At the 45-minute point only the Republicans still had the will to applaud left in them. And at the 50-minute mark even two Cabinet members, Charles E. Wilson and John Foster Dulles, looked bored."

Platitudes and generalities made the long talk seem longer; the President spoke of "harmony and good will" and expressed "our common belief that every human being is divinely endowed with dignity and with worth and inalienable rights." He noted that in our part of the world man is only " 'a little lower than the angels.' "

The Washington **Post** recorded that the high point in the address, in terms of response, came about two-thirds of the way through it when he said:

> "I also urge the Congress to approve a long overdue increase in the salaries of the Congress and of the Federal judiciary to a level commensurate with their heavy responsibilities."

JINGLE, JINGLE: The **Post** reported:

> "The Chief Executive had been going along for some time without any interruptions of applause. When he came to this lyrical pay-raise passage, however, the Senators and Representatives clapped their hands, laughed happily and some even cheered."

The President placed military needs high on his list and said:

> "Effective defense requires continuance of our aggressive attack on subversion at home."

He boasted of his Administration's efforts on this front and added:

> "We shall continue to ferret out and to destroy Communist subversion."

But for labor, farmer and consumer he offered little. He ignored labor's demands for a fair labor law. For farmers he promised a continuation of flexible price supports. On housing he proposed a wholly inadequate 35,000 units for each of the next two years, with private industry to take over after that. On public health he pledged to "continue to reject socialized medicine."

DEMOCRATS PLEASED: The day before the President spoke, top Democratic "liberals" in the Senate agreed not to push a fight against use of the filibuster to defeat civil rights measures; the President himself made no reference to civil rights.

Many Democrats were happy with the message. Said Rep. John W. McCormack (D-Mass.), new floor leader:

> "On domestic matters, most of it might well be termed New Dealish."

Sen. Earle C. Clements (D-Ky), new Senate whip, said:

> "I am glad to see him embracing so many things that the Democrats have so long stood for and on which he has been unable to get the sup-

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THE DOOR TO ONE-FIFTH OF HUMANITY WAS OPENED TO HIM

United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold

THE WHOLE WIDE WORLD WAS WATCHING

Chou-Dag meeting mocks West's ignoring of China

By Kumar Goshal

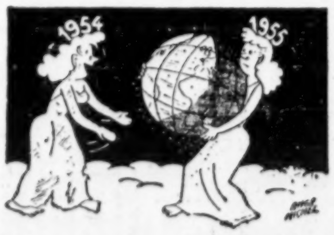
THE eyes of the four continents of the world last week were on Peking, where something new under the sun was going on: a conference between Chou En-lai, Premier of China which Washington refuses to admit to membership of UN, and UN's Secy.-Gen. Dag Hammarskjold. Hammarskjold had asked Chou if he could come there to discuss the release of U.S. fliers jailed on charges of espionage. After four days of talk, all that the world learned in a joint Peking-UN communique was that the atmosphere was "cordial"; that "reference was made . . . to questions pertinent to relaxation of world tension"; and that Chou and Hammarskjold hoped after this "useful" conference "to be able to continue the contact established."

Hammarskjold's trip—the Indian press advised him to go "with humility"—highlighted the dangerous absurdity of U.S. and UN pretense that the Chinese People's Republic, containing 1/5 of the world's population, does not exist. The Western powers' isolation from most of humanity in policy and attitude toward China was manifest as Secy. Dulles summoned a conference of SEATO in Bangkok Feb. 23—with Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines to represent "Asia"—ostensibly to plan defense against Chinese "aggression." At the same time China was being invited by its five "Colombo powers" neighbors to the 30-nation Afro-Asian conference in Indonesia in April.

LET'S TRADE: The N.Y. **Times'** Tillman Durdin started the new year by reporting (1/2) that major non-Communist Asian nations see the U.S.S.R. and China not as potential aggressors but as countries with which they can co-operate for mutual benefit. These Asian nations believe, he said, that

> ". . . trade should be developed with Communist China and an opportunity be afforded [her] for settling into peaceful reconstruction and normal international relations. . . . They blame the U.S. for presenting the main obstacle to Communist China's acceptance in the UN and emergence in other ways into normal world intercourse."

Early this month Japan's Foreign Minister Shigemitsu expressed his country's desire to end the state of war with the U.S.S.R., and Premier Hatoyama proposed to begin "normalizing" relations with "Communist countries" by more trade with China.



Carrefour, Paris

"It's simple enough—whatever they do, never drop the ball."

GOODS ON THE COUNTER: China's new trading potentialities were indicated in its relations with N. Korea, to which it has:

- Supplied goods valued at $122 million in the 11 months ending Oct., 1954, including locomotives, rolling stock, coal, coke, water pumps, electric motors, cement, timber, steel materials;
- Agreed to send during the next two years freight cars, machinery, raw materials for chemical industries, textile equipment, cotton fabrics, paper etc. valued at $338 million, and under another agreement rolled steel and cotton yarn—while N. Korea would supply China with electric power, minerals, marine products and fruit.

China has agreed to provide N. Vietnam with advisers, equipment and technicians to develop transport and communications and help restore the five water-conservation works destroyed during the Indo-China war. Another indication of the kind of economic relationship under-developed countries might establish with socialist countries came from India, which was reported ready to accept a Soviet offer to build a million-ton-capacity steel

(Continued on Page 3)

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Vol. 7, No. 13 178 JANUARY 17, 1955

"The workingmen are the basis of all governments, for the plain reason that they are the most numerous."
—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

REPORT TO READERS

Marcantonio Memorial

IF IMMORTALITY WERE WITHIN OUR POWER, we of the GUARDIAN—readers and staff alike—would certainly have bestowed it on Vito Marcantonio. For courage, resourcefulness and devotion in behalf of the real interests of the American people, none has surpassed him in the memory of any of us. His untimely death on a rain-swept morning last August brought a sense of deep, personal loss to thousands of men and women throughout our country and the world. It was the loss of a man who could be relied on without question in any and every phase of the quest for human betterment.

THIS WEEK you will be receiving a letter from Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, asking your help in keeping Marc's memory alive through a Memorial to make "his deep faith in America and his long struggle for Peace and Justice . . . a part of our eternal heritage."

We urge you to respond to this request as quickly and generously as you can. Already work is proceeding on assembling and publishing the story of Marc's life, his community service, his Congressional career and his speeches and writings. Scholarships and other enduring memorials are planned, as well as support for projects devoted to carrying on toward his ideals.

MARC had the greatest faith in GUARDIAN readers; he knew he spoke with the strength of thousands when his lone voice was raised in Congress in June, 1950, against war in Korea; you stood behind him always in his historic defenses of the Bill of Rights.

Marc's life of service can be made the standard for representative government in our country if his memory is kept alive and ever-present among those fighting for this objective. As Dr. DuBois says in his letter:

"This is the sort of man which the world today must not forget."

—THE EDITORS

P. S. For those who may not receive Dr. DuBois' letter, full details may be obtained from or checks made payable to The Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 1484 First Av., New York 21, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

State of the President

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I heard Eisenhower deliver his State of the Union message. It bristled with belligerent statements indicating strong determination to keep the war hysteria at high pitch instead of demonstrating a sincere will to attain peace.

The important matter of public education he briefly touched upon toward the last part of the message, and the chronic state of economic difficulties of farmers he perfunctorily mentioned. Firm assurances of non-interference by the federal government with private business and the medical profession were numerous.

A. Garcia Diaz

New day coming

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

The fact that they insist on getting Cedric Belfrage out of circulation in the good old U. S. A. is a tribute to the fine work that he has done in opposing war and fascism. Even though he may not be a U. S. citizen technically, history will some day record that he has been a stalwart citizen of our land in the truest sense.

Thanks for all that he and the GUARDIAN have meant and will continue to mean to America. Blessings on him, the staff, the GUARDIAN and all the fine people all over this land who will stand firm and true to the end and bring a better day. For we will do exactly that—bring a better day!

Helen Parsons

Ordeal in Portland

PORTLAND, ORE.

Enclosed is my renewal. I regret that I cannot contribute more since I am engaged in a fight at this end of the line, similar to that which embraces your editor. Only I am not one of the principals, but am doing whatever I can to assist the Smith Act victims and Walter-McCarran Law victims, of whom we have four. They have been indicted by a Federal grand jury for contempt of Congress, for their refusal to answer questions put to them by the Velde Committee last June.

These men are American-born citizens and World War II veterans. Two were combat veterans; one has a wife and five small children and served three years overseas; the other was a paratrooper in the invasion of Normandy and was shot down and taken prisoner by the Germans and spent a year in a prison camp before he was rescued by the Russians. He has a wife and three children.

None was ever charged with any crime or unlawful act prior to his being subpenaed to appear before the Velde Committee. None has been accused or charged with any offense since, except that of refusing to answer questions which he considered prying into his personal affairs. The trials are set for Jan. 19. If convicted they face long prison terms and heavy fines.

Chas. E. Woodward

A committee has been formed to help the Portland victims. Address: Committee for Defense of Constitutional Rights, P. O. Box 4374, Portland, Ore. Ed.

New Year's in S. F.

BERKELEY, CALIF.

A word of thanks to the dozens of people who helped make the Guardian New Year's parties in San Francisco and the East Bay such a great success. The decorations were beautiful, the food was luscious, the thoughtful planning showed in every detail, and the friendly spirit of those who came (in spite of cold and rain) was testimony to the quality of those who support and defend the voice of the people in these times.

Donations at the San Francisco party netted $60.75; those at the East Bay affair netted $271.82, which went half to the GUARDIAN, half to the Sidney Roger Radio Fund.

Now let's set our sights for the Angel's Banquet in March. We're starting off with a Sunday breakfast, Jan. 23, 9 to 1, ham and eggs, biscuits, fruit and so on, $1 donation, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, everybody come. And if you do likewise or something similar, you can raise your quota for the Angel's Dinner. **Malvina Reynolds**

The winged walrus

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"The time has come,"
the Peace-Dove said,
"to speak of many things:
of roads & schools & hospitals,
of love & wedding rings."

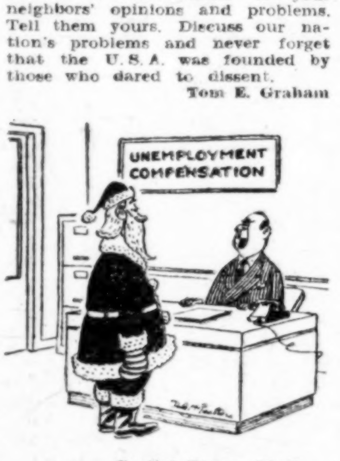
Nomowar

Resolve for '55

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Thought of a nice New Year's resolve for our law-makers mainly—also for everybody—KEEP PEACE ALIVE IN 1955—listen to your neighbors' opinions and problems. Tell them yours. Discuss our nation's problems and never forget that the U. S. A. was founded by those who dared to dissent.

Tom E. Graham



Capital Times, Madison

"YOU AGAIN!"

Abstention

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

In the Nov. 22 GUARDIAN you enumerated many foods which may have been contaminated by insects and rodents and which the Eisenhower administration allows to be served to the public.

No doubt it is an outrage. But please tell me what should poor people—like most of your readers—eat?

I happen to be of the "fortunate" men whose wife absolutely refuses to eat or serve any food produced from anything which may have been contaminated by rodents. This includes breakfast cereal, flour, tea, wheat germ, corn meal, spaghetti, noodles, rice, macaroni, soda crackers and even cookies. **Abstainer not by choice**

It begins as socialism

CLEVELAND, O.

Victor Feather, Asst. Secy. of the British Trades Union Congress, delivered an informative address before the McBride Lecture Foundation here recently. He stated that contrary to distorted opinions, socialized medicine in Great Britain has become so popular that even its former severest critics are now jumping on the bandwagon and desperately trying to take credit for it. No responsible element in either the Conservative or Labour party is opposed to it.

The analogy would seem to be America's unemployment insurance, social security, federal Bank Deposit Insurance, etc., all of which were condemned as "socialistic" when those measures were passed under Roosevelt. All have become not only respectable but an integral part of American dynamic capitalism. **Reader**

National struggle

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

More, more, splendid articles like Michael Gold's "After George Babbitt" in the Jan. 3 issue! Talking about the "real" American national writers, versus the demoralized and the Stork Club variety, makes one realize that we have an American tradition and an American heritage to defend.

Where else, except in this realization, will the American people gain the growth of spirit and the strength of purpose to defend our democratic heritage? What can better eliminate the mental confusion that makes spineless jellyfish of our people, than a clear understanding of our continuous national struggle? **Name withheld**

Guardian posters

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

For the past three years I have been producing publicity for the IPP and other progressive organizations in N. California. Several months ago, upon the request of Malvina Reynolds, I designed and silk-screen printed a small quantity of 11" x 14" posters for advertising the GUARDIAN at point of sale.

Other individuals and groups might like to have copies for use in their areas. I can supply them at the following costs:

The 14-ply card, easled, 50c. Each additional ordered at the same time, 25c.

The 6-ply card without easel, 5 for $1.

This is figured to include packing and postage to any place in the U. S. **Vaughan Christel**

Mr. Christel sent us samples; they're splendid. Ed.

How crazy can you get dept.

. . . Cuyahoga and 50 other Ohio counties have been declared off limits to Russians. . . . We think our State Dept. has hit on a dandy scheme to drive the Kremlin bureaucrats out of their wits and retard fulfillment of their current five-year plan or whatever plan they're now working on. . . .

We think the Russians will have a hard time figuring it out, too. It may upset their whole diplomacy and throw a monkey wrench in their timetable of world revolution.

—Cleveland **Plain Dealer**, Jan. 6.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Anon., Cleveland.

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Help is needed in the Belfrage case

A complete GUARDIAN Pamphlet on the Belfrage Deportation Case, including the series of articles by Cedric Belfrage concluding in this issue (see p. 7) and other important facts on the case, is now in preparation and will be ready for distribution next week. We urge you to order a supply for distribution to your friends and others in your community concerned with freedom of the press and the fight on the repressive Walter-McCarran Immigration Law. We have just received word that argument before the Board of Immigration Appeals against the Immigration Dept.'s deportation order will commence Feb. 21. This sets a very close deadline on efforts for wider public support; the time to mobilize it wherever it can be mobilized is now.

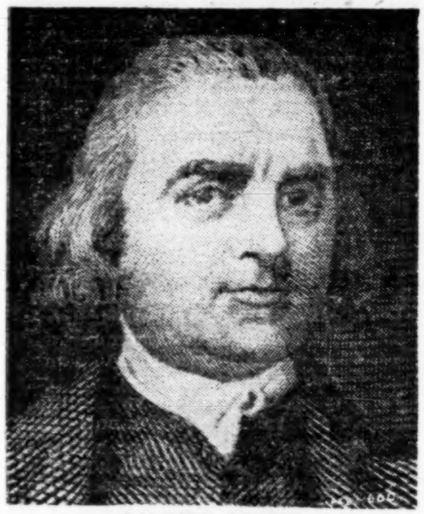
Enclose $1 for 12 pamphlets to Guardian Pamphlets, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Special bulk prices on request.

CRADLE OF LIBERTY IS ROCKED

Massachusetts witch-hunters are jarred as 10 defy Brownell-inspired inquiry

ON DEC. 30 Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell recommended 27 organizations (including the non-existent Guardian Club of San Antonio) for addition to the Justice Dept.'s list of "subversive" organizations. Among the 27 was the Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights.

In the week following, smelling large headlines, the Massachusetts Commission to Study Communism (a state legislative group) called 10 persons to testify Jan. 7 on the Bill of Rights committee. At the hearing's end the investigators were apoplectic and embarrassed by the defiant words of the witnesses and could only offer threats of contempt citation. The commission had made one big mistake: it had neglected to call in its stable of paid informers and left the day to the uncooperative witnesses.



SAMUEL ADAMS
He would have approved

PARDON ME, SENATOR: State Sen. Powers opened with an elaborate statement on Brownell's patriotism. Nathaniel Mills, on the stand, broke in to remind Powers that Brownell had also accused the Democratic Party of 20 years of treason. Sen. Powers, a state Democratic leader, subsided amid loud laughter.

Florence Luscomb, chairman of the Progressive Party of Mass., drew a contempt threat with a statement of protest which brought prolonged applause (see **Spectator, p. 12**). She refused to invoke the Fifth Amendment, relying on the First and articles in the State constitution.

Mrs. Mary C. Carlson accused the investigators of dereliction of duty since, she said, they had taken oaths to uphold the constitution and were now defying it. She told them: "You will get no co-operation from me in your dirty work." Her husband Carl Carlson, who followed her, was removed from the stand while protesting questions relating to his personal beliefs and trade union activities.

HIGH COST OF COMING: All but three witnesses appeared without counsel; they said they could not afford it. Robert Goodwin, making his fourth appearance before an investigating committee, said he had lost a day's pay each time.

Anne Hale Jr., who was fired in a Wayland, Mass., school witch-hunt, said she had just been fired from another job at the Angell Memorial Hospital for animals. She told the commission:

> "I can only presume that your agents were busy again—this time protecting cats and dogs. Is the commission using permanent unemployment as a club to force people to become informers?"

Philip Koretz declared he also had lost his job as a result of his subpena; his wife is pregnant.

Mrs. Helen Johnson said she had been subpenaed for a secret hearing the day before on 48-hours' notice. She was unable to find competent help for her two sick babies. She phoned Chairman Bowker at 2:40 p.m. and he told her to report by 3 p.m., or else. She refused to leave her children and at 5:30 p.m. had a visitor who told her she was in default of the commission.

AWFUL WORD "PEACE": As she spoke, most of the details were cut off by the embarrassed investigators. The default charge was quickly dropped in favor of questions such as "Are you a member of Mass. Women for Peace?"

Edwin Garfield said he had lost so much time at hearings this month that he was unable to keep up with installment payments. His company had assigned agents to this hearing, he said, and he feared he would lose his job altogether. If the commission were really interested in subversion, he said, why didn't it look into recent factory layoffs and a proposed 3% sales tax?

All witnesses were asked if they were members of a long list of organizations. They refused to answer any questions on affiliation, associates or political beliefs, and denounced the proceedings as an irresponsible witch-hunt in violation of federal and state constitutions. The hearings ended with a demand from the final witness that the commision dissolve itself.

It was quite a day in Boston; at its close passers-by thought they detected a faint smile on the statue of Sam Adams outside Faneuil Hall.

McCARRAN-WALTER ACT

Heikkinen appeal in Chicago Jan. 21

THE U.S. COURT of Appeals in Chicago was to hear argument Jan. 21 in the case of Knut Heikkinen, who has been sentenced to 10 years in jail for alleged violation of a Walter-McCarran Law provision.

Heikkinen, an editorial writer for the Finnish-American daily newspaper **Tyomies-Eteenpain,** of Superior, Wis., has been a resident of the U.S. since 1916. He was ordered deported to Finland in 1952 on the ground of past membership in the Communist Party. In 1953, he was indicted for "willfully" failing to apply for a passport after having been ordered deported, as provided in the Walter-McCarran Law self-deportation provisions. In 1954, Heikkinen was found guilty and was sentenced to 10 years. He is 64.

The appeal challenges the conviction and the constitutionality of the self-deportation provisions of the law. M. Michael Essin, Milwaukee attorney, is representing Heikkinen in association with Kenneth Enkel of Minneapolis. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born urged that residents of Chicago and vicinity try to be present at the Court of Appeals Jan. 21 at 9:30 a.m.

A Rally to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law in 1955 will be held Sunday, Jan. 30, at 2:30 p.m., at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St., Chicago.

A POLITICAL JOB

Hallinan fine paid but parole denied

VINCENT HALLINAN, 1952 candidate for President on the Progressive Party ticket, will serve out his full prison sentence on a tax-evasion charge, the government made clear on Jan. 5. With time off for good behavior, his 18-month sentence will end on Mar. 20.

Hallinan, jailed on Jan. 7, 1954, became eligible for parole last July 6. On Aug. 3 the Federal Parole Board turned down his application, noting that he had not yet paid a $50,000 fine. On Dec. 23 the fine was paid in full but a request that the parole application be reconsidered was denied. Said James C. Purcell, Hallinan's attorney:

> "This is political persecution—the only tax evasion case I know of that wasn't given parole in the usual way."

Hallinan is serving his sentence in the federal penitentiary at McNeil Island in the State of Washington.

State of the Union

(Continued from Page 1)

port of his own party."

DOCTOR DO-LITTLE: But the official **AFL News-Reporter** called it "a 'do little' program." AFL president George Meany called it "a completely uninspiring program" and said the President's "recommendations for improving our way of life are timid and puny":

> "Obviously the President in his anxiety to remain in the middle of the road has failed to realize that roads are made for movement, not stagnation."

Altogether the report on the State of the Union was a dull affair; the N.Y. **Times** reported of the finish:

> "The burden of acting out a ceremony of state was over and, probably with a grateful sigh, both President and Congress turned back to the jobs they do better."

The job the President turned back to as quickly as he could was at the Burning Tree Golf Club.

Chou-Dag meeting

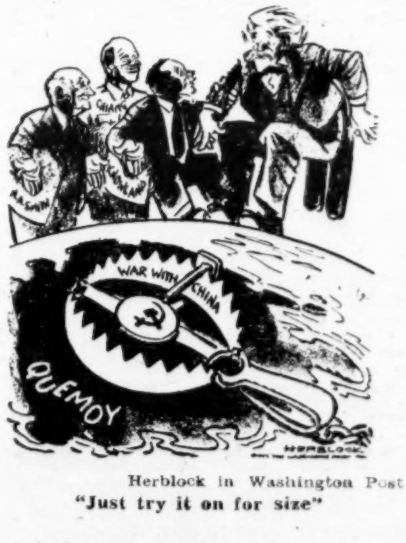
(Continued from Page 1)

mill at a cost of $152 million, repayable by India in 10 years at 2½% interest.

FAR EAST PONDERINGS: Asians, by and large, refused to be obsessed with fears of communism nor to accept as "communist" all the colonial freedom movements thus characterized by the West. The Premier and Cabinet of Laos, for example, were reported (**N.Y. Herald Tribune,** 1/8) "pondering how to renew discussions" with the nationalist Pathet Lao organization now controlling two Laotian provinces under the Geneva accord. In Indonesia, President Soekarno continued to support his Cabinet, although some of its members have been accused of being Communists, and has publicly declared Indonesia could learn much from the U.S.S.R. and China.

Nevertheless, the U.S. and its allies continued to follow methods proven disastrous in the past.

OIL, TIN & AIRSTRIPS: The Dutch were still grimly holding on to W. New Guinea, although since they "were presumed to have unconditionally withdrawn from their former E. Indies empire, W. New Guinea would seem to be a logical part of the new Indonesia" (**Christian Science Monitor,** 11/27/54). Prior to UN discussion of W. New Guinea, **CSM** reported that for several months the Dutch had been stepping up their New Guinea military establishment, ferrying additional troops by air from the Netherlands, building fighter airstrips and bringing the crack destroyer Piet Hein to augment their naval forces. They were bulding a $2½ million airport at Biak and extending the harbor facilities at Hollandia Port. (In this territory larger than the Netherlands and Britain combined, oil is already being exploited and "copper, bauxite and nickel are known to exist and there is the possibility of uranium and [more] oil"—**CSM,** 12/1/54).



Herblock in Washington Post
"Just try it on for size"

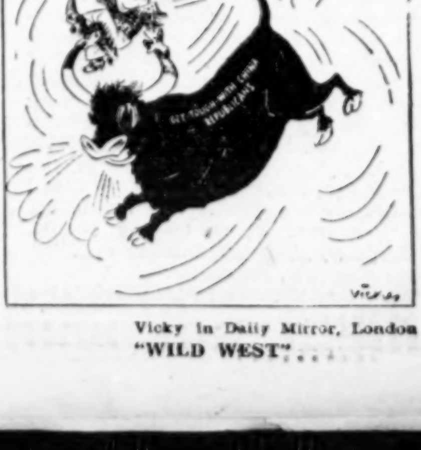
In Malaya, Britain seemed determined to duplicate France's disastrous Indo-China experience. Unable to crush the small but determined national liberation movement after seven years of war and wholesale punishment of pro-liberation villages, Britain announced that more paratroopers, helicopters and Canberra jet bombers would soon join the Vampire jets already used in the Malayan war. The war continued to cost British taxpayers $42 million more than their government's revenue from the tin- and rubber-rich colony; but Tory MP Sir Ralph Assheton, who visited Malaya last year, reported gloomily: "Arms are not likely to succeed in subduing the guerrilla forces."

BASKETS OF EELS: While talking vaguely of "land reform," Washington continued its Far East policy of supporting corrupt and discredited governments, helping to keep them in power by modernizing their armed forces, proposing to build a "mobile striking force" composed of SEATO members and supported by an elite commando-type American force. In Thailand it supports a former Japanese collaborator against a Free Thai movement led by exiled former Premier Pridi Phanomyong, who became "the symbol of resistance when he fought with the Allies against the Japanese" (**Reuters,** 12/11/54). In S. Vietnam it supports a government likened by Joseph Alsop to "an obscene basket of eels" (12/31/54). Through that government, Americans were reported from Saigon "purchasing important industrial concerns here—in contrast to the majority of French, who are selling out rapidly" (London **Observer,** 12/12/54).

Returning from his Far East inspection, Adm. Radford again brought up the proposal to blockade China, saying:

> "We are going to have a very large military aid program in the Far East for a very long time to come."

Non-Communist Asian nations have been given every reason to feel that the purpose of the Bangkok SEATO conference is to hold what remains of the colonial status quo in the Far East. To this they may come up with not very polite answers at the conference in Indonesia in April, at which nearly all Asia will be represented.



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London
"WILD WEST"...

Los Angeles CRC head reveals himself as 4-year FBI informer

THE Los Angeles chapter of the Civil Rights Congress distributed a strange document to the press last week: a 20-page confession by its exec. director—and former exec. secy. of the L. A. Rosenberg Defense Committee—that he has been a paid FBI informer for four years. Dave Brown, 49, one-time organizer for the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union in New Jersey, said he was driven by "shame and guilt" to make his self-exposure.

Brown's signed confession was made public exactly a week after he had mysteriously disappeared and became the object of a missing person police search. After three days' absence he was picked up by FBI agents at a Los Angeles airport and told police who had been hunting him that he had been kidnaped, taken to Fresno and threatened with death. In his confession he repudiated the kidnap story, said he had gone to Portland, Ore., where he planned to take his own life but in a panic called the local office of the FBI, which shipped him back to L. A. by plane.

"I WEPT . . .": Brown said he began his work with the FBI in 1950 at a low rate of $5 per written report; he identified his FBI contact man as a Romney Stewart who, he said, is an active member of the Mormon Church. When Brown became exec. secy. of the Rosenberg Defense Committee the FBI boosted his pay to $100 a month, he says. On one trip east to attend a national Rosenberg defense committee meeting, Brown says the FBI gave him an extra $500 for expenses.

He was sent east again to march in the White House clemency vigil the day the Rosenbergs were executed, and went on from Washintgon to New York to serve on the honor guard at the Rosenberg funeral. Of that experience he wrote:

> "I stood near the grave when the bodies were lowered. I heard the weeping of the crowd and saw the beloved mother of Julius Rosenberg. I wept with the others. Then I returned to Los Angeles and reported to agent Stewart."

Later, when the L. A. Civil Rights Congress made him its director, Brown says his FBI pay was raised to $150 a month; this was supplemental to what the CRC paid him and what he earned at a factory job.

The Los Angeles FBI had "no comment" on the Brown confession.

COURT REJECTS PLEA

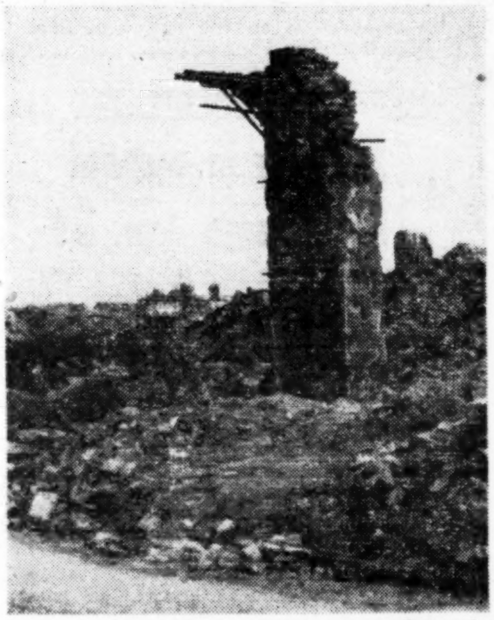
12 CP leaders begin jail terms

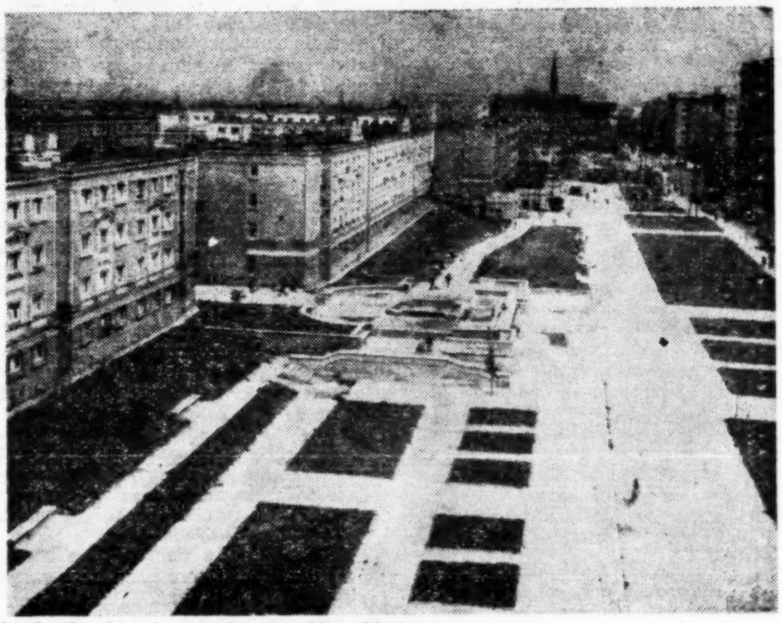
THE U. S. Supreme Court on Jan. 10 refused to review the Jan., 1953, conviction of the second group of Smith Act victims tried in New York's Foley Sq. for "conspiracy to teach and advocate" violent overthrow of the government. The refusal automatically confirmed prison sentences ranging from a year and a day plus $2,000 fine to three years and $6,000. Seven justices rejected the petition for review based on "seven errors" found by the defense. Justice Hugo Black—who called the conviction of the first group under the Smith Act "a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press which I believe the 1st Amendment forbids"—was the lone dissenter favoring that a review be granted. The 9th place on the court is vacant pending Senate confirmation of N. Y. Judge John M. Harlan.

The 13 "second-string" Communist Party leaders, who began serving their terms Jan. 11, were Alexander Bittelman, George Blake Charney, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Betty Gannett, V. J. Jerome, Arnold S. Johnson, Claudia Jones, Albert F. Lannon, Jacob Mindel, Pettis Perry, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Weinstock and William Weinstone. Miss Flynn, 64-year-old member of the party's national committee, polled 4,000 votes for Congress in the Bronx last year. Trachtenberg, 70, is head of International Publishers which publishes the Marxist classics in America. Jerome, Marxist pamphleteer-journalist recently turned novelist (**A Lantern for Jeremy**), has been writing a second novel while his prison sentence was appealed. Lannon was a founder of the Natl. Maritime Union. Veteran Marxist scholar Mindel, 71, suffers from a chronic heart condition.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS: The defense petition for review of the convictions raised these questions: whether the trial judge properly instructed the jury on the kinds of evidence it could consider in deciding whether the defendants intended "violent overthrow"; whether the defendants in fact constituted a "clear and present danger"; whether certain testimony by stoolpigeons and informers did not justify reversal of the verdict; whether the jury was properly selected, and whether the behavior of some jurors did not justify declaring a mistrial.

Weinstock, on the day the court refused to review, went on trial in the D. C. Federal Court on charges of false testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board. Bail of the remaining 12 was revoked and bench warrants issued for their immediate arrest. The order was signed by the judge who condemned Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death, Irving R. Kaufman.





But don't let's be beastly to the Hun

On Jan. 17, 1945, martyred Warsaw was liberated from the Germans. Before it left, the Wehrmacht—which the statesmen of the "free world" are seeking busily to revive—systematically destroyed hundreds of lovely structures and historic shrines. It was Hitler's boast that the Polish capital would be nothing more than a spot on the map and he almost succeeded. Above (l.) is a sample of German thoroughness: a section of the Warsaw ghetto. Today the Poles are celebrating a decade of rebuilding their capital which, Lewis Lord Silkin, British M. P., said after a visit, will be the most beautiful of European cities in another 10 years. Above (r.) the same ghetto site as it appears today.

Last hope for Irvin!

THE U. S. Supreme Court last week refused to review new evidence offered by the NAACP in the Walter Lee Irvin case.

Nothing now stands between him and the electric chair except Florida's new Gov. LeRoy Collins, State Capitol, Tallahassee.

It is urgent that you wire him—even though you already sent a plea to his predecessor Gov. Charley Johns—before he sets a new execution date, to commute Irvin's sentence.

Many Florida people, including a St. Petersburg Times reporter and its editors and a committee of white ministers, have expressed their belief in Irvin's innocence of the "rape" charged against him and three other Negro youths in 1949. One of the others was killed by a mob before trial. Another, "too young" to die in the chair, was sentenced to living death on the chain-gang. A third, shackled to Irvin, was killed by the sheriff. Irvin, badly wounded, lived to continue protesting his innocence.

Wire Gov. Collins to free Irvin! Do it right away!

TWO LETTERS

Hope for transfer of Sobell gains

MRS. HELEN SOBELL's direct request to President Eisenhower for transfer of her husband Morton from Alcatraz to a federal prison in the east is receiving "considerable thought," according to acknowledgement received from Federal Prisons Director James V. Bennett.

Mrs. Sobell wrote the President on Dec. 26, on learning of the transfer to Alcatraz of Alexander Pavlovich, Yugoslav fascist who slugged Smith Act prisoner Robert Thompson, Communist Party leader, in a New York detention jail in October, 1953. Mrs. Sobell wrote that Pavlovich's presence in Alcatraz constituted a peril to her husband, serving 30 years for "conspiracy to commit espionage" in connection with the Rosenberg Case. Earlier many public figures had written Bennett urging Sobell's transfer from the jail reserved otherwise for the nation's most hardened federal offenders.

Bennett also acknowledged a letter to him by Mrs. Sobell by saying "you may be sure we will do everything possible" to protect Sobell and promising to "keep in mind" her request for his transfer.

Meanwhile Mrs. Sobell at GUARDIAN press time had not received from Alcatraz authorities the date for the first visit of the two Sobell children with the prisoner since he entered Alcatraz in November, 1952. Children must receive special permission to visit Alcatraz. Her request was granted by Warden Swope in December. Swope is now leaving Alcatraz to command a new prison in New Mexico, and the request may have to be passed by the incoming warden.

However, the prompt acknowledgement of Mrs. Sobell's letters have spurred hopes that Sobell may be transferred in time to make the long, expensive trip West unnecessary.

Letters urging this are very much in order. Direct yours to James V. Bennett, Director of Prisons, Dept. of Justice, Wash., D. C.

Billion dollar slip

In an ABC radio broadcast last week on the case of Wolf Ladejinsky, fired from the Agriculture Dept. as a "security risk," commentator Quincy Howe said that whatever mistakes were made, no one could accuse Agriculture Secy. Benson of racial or religious prejudice.

After all, said Howe, "Mr. Benson is an Elder of the Morgan—I mean Mormon—Church."

Dinner honors Urey

On Feb. 12 the Chicago Sobell Committee will honor Dr. Harold C. Urey at a dinner at the Hotel Hamilton, 20 S. Dearborn. Carey McWilliams, editor of **The Nation**, will be the principal speaker. Reservations are $6.50. Call or write Chicago Sobell Committee, 20 W. Jackson Blvd., Room 1301, Chicago 4, Ill., or telephone WEbster 9-5992.

Anniversary record ready

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN's recording of its second annual dinner in New York is now ready for mailing. This year's record has an additional feature: highlights from the Guardian Angels Ball in Los Angeles.

It is a 33⅓ rpm recording with 45 minutes of the highlights of talks by the GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Corliss Lamont, Ring Lardner Jr. (one of the Hollywood Ten) and Gloria Agrin (one of Belfrage's attorneys in his deportation case). You will also hear the GUARDIAN's West Coast representative Tiba Willner and music by Doretta Morrow and Ernie Lieberman.

It is, in our opinion, better than last year's and makes a fine focal point for an evening of GUARDIAN friends in your community or for your personal pleasure. It puts into focus some of the sharpest issues of our times.

Send $2 for your copy, or write for details on how you can get one FREE: GUARDIAN RECORDS, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

LEGAL DEFENSE

Rights Fund gives $10,750 to fifteen

THE BILL OF RIGHTS Fund granted $10,750 in the last fiscal year to help the legal defense of 15 civil liberties cases now pending in the courts.

The annual summary, released today by Dr. Corliss Lamont, chairman, included grants to two teachers who relied on the First Amendment in their refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. A grant of $2,000 went to the legal defense of Dr. Horace Chandler Davis, University of Michigan, and $1,000 for the case of Dr. Lloyd Barenblatt of Vassar College.

Of the grants made last year, $1,000 went to the So. California and $500 to the No. California branches of the American Civil Liberties Union.

A grant of $1,000 was also made to newspaperman Carl Braden and his wife, who were indicted for sedition in Louisville, Ky. The First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles received $1,000 to assist its legal battle against a California law requiring a loyalty oath.

A VARIED LIST: Other grants were made to aid the legal defense of the following: $250 to Vern Davidson, a Socialist leader, sentenced to jail as a conscientious objector; $250 to Max Lerner, a New York City subway employe, who relied on the Fifth Amendment; $1,000 to Claude Lightfoot, indicted under the Smith Act; $500 to Lewis Lubka, indicted for sedition in Louisville; $1,000 to test the constitutionality of the Florida Subversive Law; $1,000 to James M. Staebler, who received an undesirable discharge from the Army for alleged association with a Trotskyite group; $500 to Dr. Willard Uphaus, who invoked the First Amendment before a hearing in New Hampshire; $500 to Joseph Harvey Stevenson, who pleaded the Sixth in refusing a House Un-AAC subpena on the ground that it summoned him to appear outside his state and district.

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Use Guardian Buying Service!

Buy your child toys and games that will develop creative ability, encourage participation: See Buying Service's new Educational Toy Dept.

See Matthew 25: 31-46

Commenting in a sermon Dec. 26 on the increase of "official piety" in the U.S., Dean James A. Pike of New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine referred to the recent UN vote on continuance of a commission to study apartheid (jimcrow) in S. Africa. He said:

"The Christian principles at stake were defended by votes of the Communistic countries and of the Moslem countries, while not one leading Christian country was found to support the resolution. Our nation in the votes on the several propositions of the resolution vacillated between voting against and abstaining.

"We leave it to atheistic materialists and to Moslems to sustain the Christian principle of the equality of all men regardless of race or color, whereas we—with all our burgeoning religiosity—do all we can to impede the proclamation of this principle. . . ."

—N. Y. Times, Dec. 27, 1954.

WALT WHITMAN

America's living spirit lights your face;
The heart of freedom beats within your verse.
O comrade of the world! your thoughts retrace
The rivers of your love. I shall rehearse
Your message to the nascent human soul.
O singer of our land's undying youth!
Within your strength I find my own heart's goal,
Throbbing new cadences to deathless truth.

Poet of Lincoln, poet of the Lincoln-mind!
Your stature towers above the ersatz cloud
Of pelf and hatred. Hailing humankind,
Your strong and fearless voice still sings out loud.
It's you who are America, and not they
Who dread your song that sings in me today!

—**Fred Adams,** Chicago.

1955 marks the 100th anniversary of the first edition of Whitman's "Leaves of Grass."

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

CALENDAR

Detroit

IT'S NEW! IT'S EXCITING! It's the 1955 **GALA CULTURAL FESTIVAL** featuring songs and dances from many nations by outstanding artists. Sun., Jan. 30, 2 p.m., Club Supino, 5121 Oakman (nr. Michigan Av.), Dearborn. Proceeds to fight Walter-McCarran Law. Tickets $1, tax incl., at door or Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 3033 Park, Detroit 26. WO 1-5196.

Los Angeles

SCOTT NEARING SPEAKS IN L. A. "WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?" A timely, instructive and stimulating lecture-discussion by the eminent sociologist, Professor Scott Nearing, at City Terr. Cult. Center, 3875 City Terrace Dr. Tues., Feb. 1, 8:30 p.m. Admission: donation or new sub for Natl. Guardian.

SAN FRANCISCO

BE OUR GUEST
at the
GUARDIAN ANGELS DINNER

Raise $10 in donations or news subs and be our guest at the GUARDIAN ANGELS DINNER in San Francisco in March.

Joint Bay Area Guardian Committees, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley 7, Calif.

Chicago

HEAR HELEN SOBELL Sun. evening, Jan. 23, 8 p.m., at 4825 N. Kedzie. Meet her after her talk.

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Books and Publications

"SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION," a new book by **CEDRIC BELFRAGE.** The inside story behind Sen. McCarthy's determination to deport GUARDIAN's Editor, a "man who knows too much." Belfrage Fight-Back Fund, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y. Price: $1.50 per copy. All proceeds to Fight-Back Fund.

FAR EAST REPORTER on significant facts and analyses. 10-12 issues yearly $1. Write for list of publications. P. O. Box 1536, New York 17, N. Y. MAUD RUSSELL, publisher.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE SAYS: "Of similar magazines by progressive writers, Venture is by far the best." 64 pp. stories, poetry and sketches. Yearly sub. $1; Venture, ASP, 35 W. 64th St., N.Y.C. 23.

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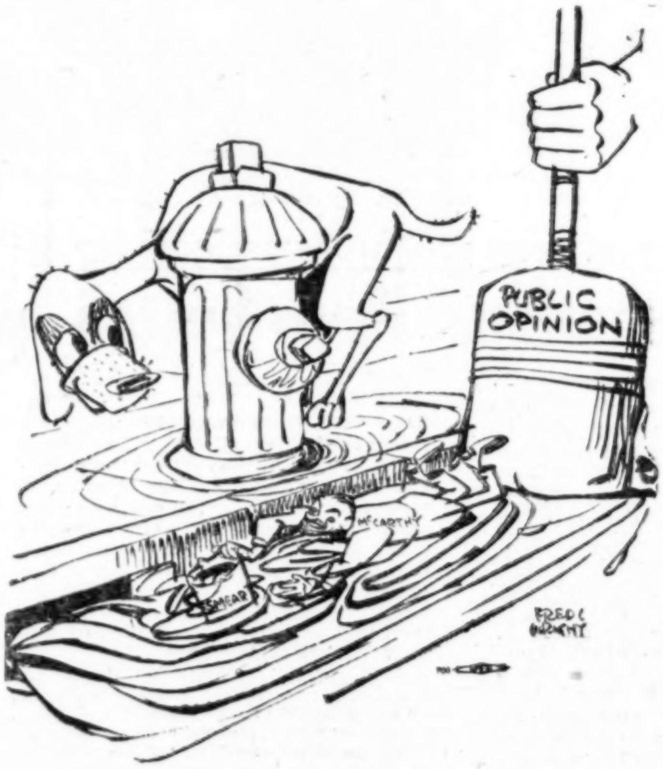
'Sweep Out the Ism, Too!'



This space was paid for through the sale of our "Joe Must Go" matches and "McCarthyism Can't Make A Sucker Out of Me" lollipops. (Matches and pops are still available).

Because we feel the NATIONAL GUARDIAN has done more to "Make Joe Go" than any other group, we have turned these funds over to them to continue the fight. To "Keep Joe Away for Good" and to "Sweep Out the Ism," may we suggest your continued support for the GUARDIAN.

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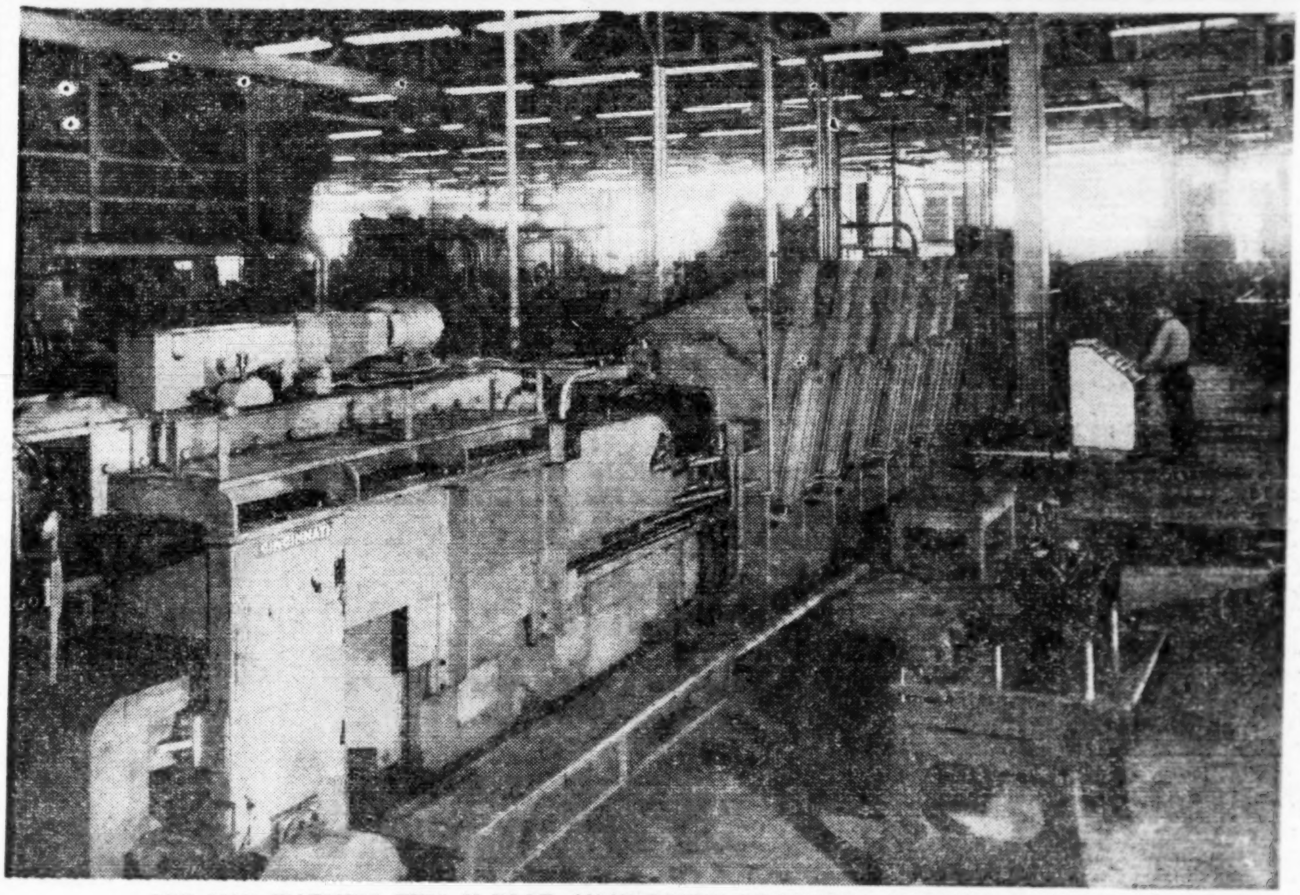

ONE MAN WATCHES THIS 60-FOOT, 140,000-POUND BROACHING MACHINE AT FORD

And all he does is watch the lights to see if a distress signal shows at the control panel

A GENERATION OF DISPLACED WORKERS COMING?

Automation: Push-button peril to jobs

By Lawrence Emery

THE push-button, completely automatic factory isn't here yet, but it's on the way. Some experts say it's only ten years off.

Newest, most discussed word in both industrial and labor circles is "automation"; industry is delighted with it, labor is fearful. There is no agreed-upon definition yet, but essentially it means a process of manufacture in which new miracle machines, electrically or electronically controlled, tend other machines—and thereby eliminate the old-fashioned assembly-line worker.

IT'S DONE WITH BUTTONS: The Ford Motor Co., which pioneered the automation concept—and invented the word—in 1947, cites a typical example in one of its newest factories:

> "At the Cleveland Engine Plant, a series of 42 transfer machines has been joined by automation devices which correctly and automatically position the work-piece (in this case a 180-pound cylinder block casting) for each successive machining operation. From the time the cylinder block is deposited at the entrance end until it emerges 530 cutting and drilling operations later, it has not been touched by man. It has gone through more than an acre of machinery automatically; its quality has been thoroughly inspected—often by automatic gauging equipment, and it is ready for assembly. The machines in this cylinder block 'department' do not require operators."

At a Westinghouse plant in Ohio 2,613 machines and tools are connected with 27 miles of conveyors to produce two refrigerators a minute. The company describes the process, after raw material is inspected and inserted in the front end of this maze:

> "From here on machines do everything: stamp out 500 compressor motor laminations a minute; coat structural steel with a drawing compound; shear sheets to size; draw, form, trim and notch structural sheet into hundreds of small intricate parts; blank sides, top and bottom of the door frame which are then joined together by welding; form the refrigerator door then trim and pierce; move the parts to an assembly line where other machines tip, turn and tilt the refrigerator as it is assembled; test, crate, move it away."

TWO WORKERS NEEDED: There are many such wonders. A new steel plant employs 6,000 men to do the work formerly performed by 11,000. In a Nash-Kelvinator plant a 14-unit transfer machine performs 179 operations, reduces man-hours for the job by more than 80%; in another installation one man on a new machine turns out 750 pieces an hour where formerly five operators on two machines turned out 38. **Newsweek** reports that

> ". . . a radio assembly line geared to produce 1,000 radios a day, with only two workers needed to run the line, [is replacing] standard hand assembly [which] requires a labor force of 200."

In one General Electric plant a new "automated" line produces switchboxes in seven minutes which previously required 22 days by hand. Electric light bulbs are now blown at the rate of 90,000 an hour in a plant employing 230 workers; in 1934 the same output would have required 4,000 workers.

"PLANT FIRST, PEOPLE SECOND": General Electric is reported planning to increase its workers' productivity 100% in ten years; General Motors, to spend more than $1 billion on automation devices. The oil industry plans to spend the same amount this year expanding and modernizing its refineries (a technical publication recently said "the average refinery which would employ 800 people without instrumentation would employ 12 people were instrumentation utilized to the fullest extent possible"). But in the oil industry wages are frozen; it seems, said CIO Oil Workers pres. O. A. Knight bitterly last month,

> ". . . to have adopted a policy of 'plant first, people second.' Oil industry management is becoming so preoccupied with its mechanical marvels and its balance sheets that it is overlooking and underrating the industry's greatest asset—people."

That is the big question posed by automation: what will it do to people? Industrialists see nothing but blessings; says Dr. C. C. Hurd, Intl. Business Machine's chief of applied science:

> "It will create more jobs—create more products at less cost—and increase the ability of people to consume. It is the key to less human effort in the future and to an increase in our standard of living tomorrow."

REUTHER'S WARNING: Detroit auto workers tell the story of their president Walter Reuther being shown the new Ford engine plant in Cleveland; a company official waved at the self-controlled machines and asked:

"How are you going to collect union dues from these guys?"

Said Reuther:

"How are you going to get them to buy Fords?"

Reuther at the recent CIO convention had these points to make about automation:

> "Technology is solving the age-old problem of man's search to produce abundance. It promises new horizons of better living for all. But it also threatens the economy with mass unemployment, if these advances are not wisely used. . . .
>
> "These improvements can prove to be a blessing . . . only if the fruits of industrial progress are shared equitably among the various economic groups of the population. Social wisdom is called for, to match scientific advances. . . .
>
> "The economy's increasing man-hour output should make it possible, within the near future, to put an end to poverty and slums in the U.S. . . . But this promise of abundance can become a reality only if the economy grows sufficiently to absorb the products of an increasingly efficient productive system."

GUARANTEES SOUGHT: The fears are present; even Arthur F. Vinson, a GE vice-president who insists automation will create more jobs, has written:

> ". . . According to one survey, nearly three-fourths of the working population believe automation will result in layoffs and unemployment; they believe its evils considerably outweigh its benefits. This bugaboo cannot be dismissed lightly, because basically automation does take over jobs performed by men. . . ."

Ewan Clague, special asst. to the Secy. of Labor, says:

> "The new process of automation which substitutes machines and energy for manpower is sure to bring about the decline and disappearance of many jobs and occupations."

The labor movement as yet has worked out no over-all program to meet the new problems of the new machines. Currently Reuther is using automation as an extra argument for his demand for a guaranteed annual wage:

> "A company will be less likely to introduce a new, gadget-filled seeing-eye operation into a plant at a time when that would mean major layoffs. Since they'll have to pay those workers anyway, they'll be more likely to bring in the new machines when markets are expanding. . . ."

"HATE TO MENTION IT . . .": Other union leaders see the shorter work week with no reduction in pay as the most immediate need. But as automation spreads, labor will have to evolve a comprehensive answer to all the dislocations, readjustments and shocks it will bring with it.

Detroit tool and die workers, highly-skilled craftsmen, recently had this to say in their publication about the new abundance of automation:

> "Who will have the dough to buy all those goods? Not the displaced workers, though they could find plenty of use for them. Not the people abroad, who will be earning even less money than will we semi-employed at home. Maybe the goods will have to be practically given away to us at home, the way we now give away butter and cotton and wheat to the people abroad. We hate to mention it, yet there is the possibility that the free-enterprisers with their automation are free-enterprising free enterprise out of business."

Hard-headed view

"I believe that we in America must modify our attitude and work out some way of trading and living peaceably with Russia and countries like Red China."

—Ernest T. Weir, head of the Natl. Steel Corp. in a speech to the Cleveland Engineering Society

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Home financing — Dixon-Yates style

YOU KNOW the right people in the White House. You tell them you would like a $20,000 home. All right, they say, just put up 5 percent, $1,000, and the government will guarantee you getting a loan of $19,000.

Fine, you say—but paying back the loan? Oh, says Uncle Ike, we will instruct a U.S. agency to pay you $100 rent a month on the house, and you can live in it all the time. Further, says Uncle Ike, we will make the whole thing tax-exempt.

You say all right, but what about my $1,000 investment? Oh, says Uncle Ike, don't worry about that—we'll guarantee you 9 per cent a year.

So you put up $1,000, float a government-guaranteed loan at 3 per cent interest, build the house and move in.

At the end of 25 years, you have received $30,000 in rent from the government and at least $2,250 on your $1,000 investment. Meanwhile, you have paid $14,250 interest. The difference is $18,000 in your pocket. You take the $18,000, add $1,000, and pay off the loan.

You have a $20,000 house that cost you $2,000. The $18,000 difference came from the government—the taxpayers.

That, says the **Independent**, is the kind of deal you could get in Washington if you were Dixon and Yates. The only difference is that they are putting up $5.5 million and getting a $107 million power plant bought for them by the taxpayers.

Ike calls this "private enterprise." It's private benefits at public expense.

—Anderson (S.C.) **Independent** (quoted in Madison, Wis., Capital Times)

GUARDIAN'S EDITOR WRITES: "WHY THEY WANT TO DEPORT ME" — IV

The real target is this newspaper

By Cedric Belfrage

(Fourth and last of a series)

They (the government) hope to deport Belfrage, not because they know or care if he is or was a Communist, but because he edits a paper which opposes what it sees as the government's drive for world domination. The liberty to do this is dangerous—and you must begin trimming somewhere.

—John Blawis' letter to the Denver Post, Jan. 1, 1955.

"YOU MUST begin trimming somewhere"—but at what point do you stop trimming the liberty to oppose and expose? That is the question which the gentlemen of the Newspaper Publishers Assn. face, and which at the Denver **Post** at least—judging by its prominent treatment of Blawis's letter—is causing some headache and heartburn.

CITIZEN PAPERS
FILLED OUT
HERE
PHOTOS
WHILE "U" WAIT

MORE THAN A PANE OF GLASS SEPARATES THEM

Cedric Belfrage stands next door to the Immigration Building

Not that there is any other nationally-circulated newspaper in the land that opposes as the **GUARDIAN** does "what it sees as the government's drive for world domination." On this fundamental issue the press has fallen almost painlessly into line behind Washington, reminding us that the well-known lines do not apply merely to Fleet Street:

> *You cannot hope to bribe or twist,*
> *Thank God, the British journalist,*
> *But seeing what the man will do*
> *Unbribed, there's no occasion to.*

UNEASY NECKS: Nevertheless U.S. newspapers cherish their right to differ on "safer" questions; and while few of them would shed a tear for the passing of the GUARDIAN as such, those mildly liberal ones which Washington's lunatic fringe already denounce as "communist"—or at least "anti-anti-communist"—know that if and when the GUARDIAN is trimmed, the shears will have moved appreciably closer to them.

When the men with the shears in Washington considered the GUARDIAN, an obvious place to begin trimming without nakedly assaulting "freedom of the press" presented itself: the editor was an alien. To complete the record here I must digress for a moment to explain how this came about.

THE PICNIC: After having lived for 20 of the past 28 years in the U.S.: I am still a non-citizen (and therefore a victim of taxation without representation) for one simple but extraordinary reason—that I volunteered for service in World War II. Obtaining "first papers" immediately I qualified to do so in 1937, I was eligible for citizenship any time between 1942 and 1944; but already in 1941, since before Pearl Harbor, I was active in a war job which my British government employers deemed important and for which British citizenship was mandatory. It was hardly thinkable that I should quit just to satisfy my personal desire for U.S. citizenship; and I had no doubt that the matter would be completed without difficulty as soon as the war ended.

In 1944, and until near the end of 1945, I was in Europe, actually under U.S. Army command within the Anglo-U.S. SHAEF set-up. Returning to my American children after my discharge, almost my first action was to notify Washington I wanted to complete my citizenship. I was told I had "overstayed my time" abroad—just as if I had been on a picnic—and would be required to start the five-year waiting period all over again.

Frankly, I was so infuriated by this—attempts to get Senators to intervene for me were unavailing—that I could not bring myself to submit to such a demand, aware as I was that had I cozily sat out the war I would have been a citizen since 1942. Whether I should have swallowed my pride and re-applied for citizenship in 1946 is now an academic question; for in light of what has happened since, none will seriously suggest that I could have obtained citizenship in 1951.

DO WE EXIST? My alien status offered a made-to-order device for Joe & Co. to set the shears to work on the GUARDIAN. But now we come to the most important point—just what it was about the GUARDIAN that made the shearing a "must" for them.

Blawis's formulation is perhaps a little less than the whole story. I would say rather that the men with the shears **do** know I am not a Communist and that the GUARDIAN is not a Communist publication; and it is this knowledge that makes them even more anxious to clip us to death than if we really were what they "charge" we are.

For the GUARDIAN represents a political position whose very existence Washington must at all costs deny if its main propaganda line is not to collapse. In the past decade uncountable billions of dollars have been spent to isolate the Communist Party—first, by "proving" that it is "under orders from Moscow" and "advocates violence"; and then by terrorizing all progressives through the proposition that no favorable word for socialism, nor basic criticism of "Western democracy," nor defense of the CP, could be uttered by other than Communists.

THE BIG HUMBUG: If Americans stop swallowing that line and decide that one can take such positions merely under orders from conscience and common sense, then the witch-hunt which makes continuation of the cold war possible will lose whatever rationale it has been given. How nonsensical the propaganda is, is clear from the most superficial study of U.S. history before any "communist" country ever existed, when capitalism was condemned and socialism espoused in America far more broadly and warmly than they are now. Furthermore the non-Communist "left progressive" or "left socialist" position, which Washington is so anxious to have Americans think does not exist, is an accepted feature of the political scene in every other Western country.

I do not propose to insult the Communist Party, which I respect, nor the intelligence of yet open-minded Americans who can easily find the answers by comparing 6½ years of GUARDIANs with CP publications, by listing all the differences we have had with the party. They have been—and I believe will continue to be—friendly differences.

Nor shall I expatiate on why I am not a Communist. I have said and written that I have a perfect right to be one if I choose; but I might add that even if did choose—if I thought it was a place where I could work effectively for a just, peaceful and abundant America, which means eventual socialism in my thinking—the party, organized as it is along closely disciplined lines, might just as properly choose otherwise and reject me.

THE FACTS OF LIFE: The position of the GUARDIAN which the witch-hunters cannot tolerate is that you do not have to be a Communist to accept the facts of life in our time: that the world is moving toward socialism because it makes more sense than monopoly capitalism and imperialism, which are out of date; that socialism corresponds, in the present stage of human knowledge and skill, not only with the material interests of all peoples but with the moral principles of the great religious faiths; and that methods employed by this or that nation to introduce it are irrelevant to its universal desirability.

THE ROAD WE SEEK: Perhaps I have spent too much time here on the CP; but it has been made "the issue" in my deportation case by the government, and hence I think it important to express my positive position about it. The GUARDIAN stated its own faith in the first issue dated Oct. 18, 1948:

> ". . . That the times call for a voice in our nation which without fear or reservation will bespeak the cause of peace, freedom and abundance . . . [Its] editorial point of view will be a continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and overwhelmingly supported by the American people in the last four presidential elections. . . .
>
> "We believe with FDR that peace can be secured only by seeking areas of agreement among nations, rather than seeking areas of disagreement. . . . With FDR we believe that 'the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state.' . . . We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people. . . ."

THE FAMILY LOOKS AHEAD: We enunciated these heresies in 1948, and gathered around us a family as broad as America of men and women who shared them with us. We have never been, and do not propose to be, concerned about these brothers' and sisters' political or other affiliations so long as they are traveling our way. We have sought to let the collective family wisdom decide where our common principles must lead us in terms of editorial policy and emphasis. They have led us, as solid principles must in an unprincipled era, into supporting many "dangerous" causes; we would not have had it otherwise.

Today we are above all conscious how fast the pace of history has become. We stand in the shadow of weapons capable of exterminating us all, even as great new masses of humanity are standing up to break out of bondage and as new productive powers are mastered, 1,000 times more "subversive" of old ways than any political creed.

In such a world we believe that putting socialism on the American agenda for serious and urgent discussion can no longer be postponed by those who seek to return to the New Deal road. In any case it is our conviction that the New Deal road—with whatever new implications it has in this second half of the 20th century—must and will soon become the road of a great coalition of Americans including (as John McManus wrote last week) "every group represented in the great Progressive mobilization of 1948, and many more not then represented."

CREDO: That is the GUARDIAN; that is the voice that the old men with the shears would trim from the American scene. As for myself, the immediate target of the shears, I cannot conclude better than with the credo of Harry Dexter White when the inquisitors called him to answer "charges" of communism and espionage:

> "My creed is the American creed. I believe in freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of criticism and freedom of movement. I believe in the goal of equality of opportunity, and the right of each individual to follow the calling of his or her own choice, and the right of every individual to an opportunity to develop his or her capacity to the fullest.
>
> "I believe in the right and duty of every citizen to work for, to expect and to obtain an increasing measure of political, economic and emotional security for all. I am opposed to discrimination in any form, whether on grounds of race, color, religions, political belief or economic status. I believe in the freedom of choice of one's representatives in Government, untrammeled by machine guns, secret police or a police state. I am opposed to arbitrary and unwarranted use of power or authority from whatever source or against any individual or group.
>
> "I believe in a government of law, not of men, where law is above any man, and not any man above law. I consider these principles sacred. . . . I believe in them as living realities, and not as mere words on paper. . . . Those are the principles that I have been prepared in the past to fight for, and am prepared to defend at any time with my life, if need be."

That day—Aug. 13, 1948—before the J. Parnell Thomas Un-AAC was Harry White's last chance to defend them; compelled to undergo the inquisition while suffering from a severe heart ailment, he died of a heart attack three days later.

The condition of my heart, so far as I know, is good. I am prepared to go on defending these sacred principles, and I hope I can do it in a manner worthy of the man who thus enunciated them.

Onward & upward with the free world

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22' (UP) — The Army's germ warfare authority said today it would be "an act of barbarism" to deny American troops the use of biological weapons in a war. Maj. Gen. Wm. M. Creasy, chief Army chemical officer, said . . . it now was quite capable of defeating an enemy "with the least expenditure of American lives."

—N.Y. Times, Dec. 23, 1954.

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

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ON THE HOBBY HORSE

The strange case of Mrs. Spaulding

MRS. JANE MORROW SPAULDING in her home town of Charleston, W. Va., was an executive of the Natl. Council of Negro Women before she became a "Citizens for Eisenhower" worker in 1952. For having helped swing Negro voters to the general, she was made a $9,600 assistant and "adviser" to Secy. Oveta Culp Hobby of the U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Dept. The Philadelphia Natl. Council of Negro Women in 1953 named Mrs. Spaulding the outstanding Negro woman.

One of her tasks was so to "advise" Mrs. Hobby regarding the Negro community that any HEW policy would promote rather than hinder Republican chances for 1956. Her first significant piece of advice was that Secy. Hobby oppose a $1,500,000 grant to a Houston municipal hospital unless Negro doctors were allowed full use of its facilities. Mrs. Hobby couldn't see herself geting in bad with fellow Texans. She rejected the advice.

"SERIOUS BONERS": The next thing the public knew was that Mrs. Spaulding, as the Negro press put it, had been "kicked upstairs" to a $10,000 job with the War Claims Commission. She wasn't there long before rumors were afloat that her work was restricted to the unimportant and "non-controversial." But by that time she was herself a center of a controversy; the NAACP said the reason she had been fired from Mrs. Hobby's dept. was that she "made several forthright speeches attacking discrimination." Moreover, said an NAACP memo to Negro editors, she had refused to sign a letter she was asked to send out repudiating charges made by the association and N.Y. Democratic Rep. Adam Clayton Powell that Mrs. Hobby tried to delay integration in schools on military posts.

MRS. JANE SPAULDING
Some boners were made

Mrs. Spaulding has now been "kicked upstairs" still further—into a job in the Foreign Operations Administration at $42.50 a day, or approximately $11,000 annually. Washington officials are quoted as saying some serious political boners were pulled in the Spaulding affair; one assured the Negro press "her services are of value" to the Republican government—with a Presidential election less than two years off.

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NO HEARING

'March of Labor' gets Un-AAC tag

BEFORE expiring, the 1953-54 House Un-American Activities Committee issud a special report Dec. 21 branding the trade union monthly **March of Labor** a "Communist front." Although the Un-AAC has listed various publications (many of them non-existent) as "subversive," the only other similar report was issued on the Honolulu **Record** in 1950, shortly before its editors' trial under the Smith Act. **March of Labor**, founded in 1949 by representatives of several independent unions, is edited by John Steuben who owns it jointly with Vincent Hallinan, the Progressive Party's 1952 Presidential candidate now in McNeil Island, Wash., federal prison after conviction of "tax evasion."

The Un-AAC issued its report without hearing MOL's side. Steuben, recuperating from a serious heart ailment, was subpenaed to appear before the group July 8. His health prevented it, but the committee ignored his offer to testify at home in his doctor's presence.

DENATURALIZATION: Washington has had machinery in motion to remove Steuben's U.S. citizenship since 1952; hearings are expected shortly in Chicago. Steuben was born in Russia, entered the U.S. in 1923 when he was 16, was naturalized while serving in the U.S. Army in 1943. The government cites as reasons for denaturalization that he swore falsely he was not a Communist, and two indictments growing out of the Youngstown "Little Steel" strike of 1937 when he was a CIO organizer: one of "criminal syndicalism" for "advocating violence," and one of cutting rails into the Youngstown Sheet & Tube plant at a time when he was shown to have been in the mayor's office. The first was never tried, the second resulted in a hung jury. More recently Steuben served as secy.-treas. of the AFL Hotel Front Service Employes Union in New York.

Others who came under fire in the Un-AAC report were former MOL editors Walter Berry; Len De Caux, former editor of the **CIO News**; and the magazine's original directors Maurice H. Forge and John and Madeline Ryan.

PRESS TAILPIECE: One of the Un-AAC's chief former employes, Paul Crouch, is suing the **Daily Worker** for $150,000 on the ground that articles it printed about him are "seriously curtailing my earnings" as a government "consultant" on communism.

Godless Russia

A. S. Horsley, member of the recent British religious delegation to the U.S.S.R. headed by the Methodists' Dr. Donald Soper and the Queen's chaplain Canon Raven, reports in the London **Sunday Times** (12/12):

- The country (excluding Georgia) has over 20,000 active Russian Orthodox churches, and 5,000 Baptist churches with 512,000 membership;
- "We barely saw one service, weekday or Sunday, when the crowd was not as tightly packed as at a league football match";
- The delegation estimated Sunday church attendance at "over half a million" in Moscow alone; "reliable estimates" are that "75-80%" of Russian children are christened;
- "The quality of the clergy seemed high. . . . The deacon who attended upon us possessed a car and his brother, a priest, had both car and chauffeur. . . Father Igor told us the Moscow Patriarchy spent over 15 million roubles yearly on education."

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NEW YORK

Jefferson school fights back

STUDENTS fill the corridors of the Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 6th Av., to learn about Marxism from the people best qualified to teach it, Marxists. Many sign up for classes in political economy, labor history, the Negro and Puerto Rican questions; others take up the Spanish guitar, study sculpture under Aaron Goodleman, fiction writing under Dashiell Hammett, drawing under Charles White. Just before the school's 11th winter registration Jan. 17, Subversive Activities Control Board chairman T. J. Herbert recommended that the board find it a "Communist front" under the McCarran Act. School director Howard Selsam said the recommendation was not an order to the school to register; the school would continue to fight any Board action through the courts. Meanwhile it would go on with its own kind of registration: some 2,000 students are expected to enroll.

WHERE TO GET THE TAX MONEY

ALP legislative proposals

AMERICAN Labor Party chairman Peter K. Hawley, in a letter to Gov. Harriman on the eve of his inauguration, offered a set of legislative proposals many of which, he pointed out, were taken from the Democratic Party's platform in the recent campaign.

Terming demands by state and city officials to trim the budget "disquieting," Hawley said tax boosts or new taxes would be necessary to provide revenue for improved services. He proposed raising revenue from corporation, unincorporated business, inheritance and estate taxes. He emphasized the ALP's opposition to payroll tax and favored easing the burden on lower incomes by raising exemptions on state income taxes to $1,250 for single persons, $3,100 for married couples, $500 for dependents. These were other recommendations:

FINANCES: Restore N. Y. City's full rights to tax real estate, issue bonds, draw its full share of pari-mutuel and racetrack admission taxes, repeal such "nuisance" taxes as the unused payroll, overnight parking and auto use taxes. The State to finance municipal colleges, pay a share of day-center upkeep, boost aid to pay for growing school population and teachers' raises, press Federal govt. for similar help.

TRANSIT: Abolish the Transit Authority, return transit to N. Y. City elected officials, bring back the 10c fare.

HOUSING: Renew rent control, rescind the 15% rent increase, declare a rent moratorium where landlords fail to make needed repairs. Enact laws to ban discrimination in all housing.

LABOR: Repeal the Hughes-Brees law, increase unemployment insurance benefits, duration, coverage. Raise minimum wage to $1.25.

ELECTORAL REFORM: Enact permanent personal registration, repeal the Wilson-Pakula Law (giving machine bosses final say on primary candidates), order direct election of district leaders in primaries.

Hawley reminded Harriman that "the American Labor Party has consistently fought for this program." Earlier he had written Harriman urging him to appoint Negroes to high office as a preliminary to pressing anti-jimcrow legislation in the Legislature. Harriman had appointed Herbert B. Evans, prominent Negro attorney, as confidential law assistant, but Hawley said: "This can only be a beginning."

OVERFLOW CROWD

Robeson sings at City College

TWO YEARS AGO Paul Robeson was denied the right to sing or speak at City College. Last week he sang to an overflow crowd in the college's Townsend Harris Hall auditorium under the auspices of the Young Progressives of America.

There was no protest from faculty or students. The audience joined with Robeson in the chorus of "John Brown's Body." After the concert many of the students joined Robeson in the college cafeteria, asked questions in an impromptu forum.

One revolted Norwegian

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Look what I found in my stocking Christmas morning! I am sending this $50 to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund, bells and all; to be credited to Belfrage's "defense." Defending what? That he is a civilized man. Indeed, that is worth defending.

I have a horrible feeling that the blighted character who appeared as a "witness" against him is a Norwegian. I am Norwegian. I am revolted. Agnes Aanes

THE STATE OF N. Y. STATE

Harriman's message tells the big boys he's safe

By Arthur Schutzer

GUARDIAN legislative correspondent

GOV. HARRIMAN's first legislative message was acclaimed by the press that opposed him. The **Daily News** wrote:

> ". . . We were surprised by the documentary calm . . . quality, and lack of New-Fair Deal proposals. . . . [Harriman] says flatly that many services and projects which our State Government should undertake and our people want must be postponed. That's spoken almost like a Republican."

The **Herald Tribune** said: "The newsworthy part of the message is actually the declaration of an intention to withhold action." The **Times** found the message "reassuring" and "founded on a determination not to be hurried into experimentation."

The speech seemed a signal to big business and the Democratic Party king-makers that Harriman is "safe." It sounded like a cautious opening bid for the 1956 Presidential nomination.

THE SOURCE: Harriman announced a "budgetary plight" and a "fiscal crisis"—but nowhere in his message did he call for increasing taxes on those best able to pay: corporation taxes, upper-bracket inheritance taxes, stock transfer taxes, etc. Even his drastic directive to halt any new public works construction contracts seems designed only as an alibi for failure to meet the public needs: 24 hours after it was announced, it was modified to permit exceptions by state budget director Appleby.

The state has sovereign taxing powers. It is not helpless in the face of urgently required services and construction for 14 million New Yorkers. The answer is not merely to voice a banker's horror at the word "deficit." It is, rather, prompt emergency action to get the funds by stiffer levies on big business and by state bond issues.

THE TIP-OFF: A month ago the GUARDIAN warned that talk in both Republican and Democratic post-election camps about an alleged "tight" fiscal situation could be the tip-off on bi-partisan moves to slash services and offer a turn-the-clock-back budget. Harriman now appears to be bearing this out. These are highlights of the message:

EDUCATION: Stalls on increased state aid pending final report of Heald Commission; hardly touches on teacher salaries; dooms state bond issue for new schools; silent on repeal of Feinberg law.

STATE AID TO LOCALITIES: Instead of increasing state aid, recommends that present temporary local power to levy consumer taxes (sales, payroll, overnight parking, etc.), be made permanent.

TRANSIT AUTHORITY: Silent on repeal. Meanwhile, Mayor Wagner hints at new fare hike, says Transit Authority should be salaried—as if a fare increase by salaried members is sweeter than one imposed by non-salaried rookers.

RENT CONTROL: Asks extension and improvement, but no rollback (pledged by DeSapio during campaign).

LABOR: Urges increase from $30 to $36 in unemployment insurance plus dependency benefits, and extension of coverage to firms employing one or more (instead of four or more) employes; similar steps on workmen's compensation and sickness disability, repeal of Hughes-Brees law, limiting unemployment insurance coverage, and the Condon-Wadlin anti-strike law; support of $1.25 minimum wage. (Harriman was strongest in this section but the test would come in the fight to push it through the Legislature).

WATERFRONT COMMISSION: Silent on repeal of this anti-labor law which directs fingerprinting, political screening, denial of work permits to dockworkers.

HOUSING: Stresses government aid and tax exemptions to private building industry.

UNEMPLOYMENT: Asks for a Development Corporation, run by bankers, insurance companies and industrial committees, to "raise funds for creation of new employment opportunities." Cozy for big business but no comfort to jobless workers. No state program for public works—instead, a halt on any new construction contracts.

ST. LAWRENCE POWER: Merely notes that Governor must pass on any contracts for sale of electric power, ducks any stand on pending giveaway plan by State Power Authority boss Robert Moses (see GUARDIAN, 1/10/55).

ELECTIONS: Asks mandatory permanent personal registration. Silent on repeal of Wilson-Pakula law which strengthens boss rule over primaries.

CIVIL RIGHTS: Recommends extension of anti-discrimination law to Federally-aided housing; authority for State Commission Against Discrimination to initiate action, instead of waiting for complaints. No recommendation for memorializing Congress to repeal Smith Act, Walter-McCarran Act, McCarran Act, "Communist Control" Act.

The wind-up item writes a New Deal for bingo players. First bill to be introduced by the Democratic Administration will be to preserve every New Yorker's right to play bingo.

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ASP Writing & Publishing Forum on **MARK TWAIN & CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE**, Tues., Jan. 18, 8:30 p.m., ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Speakers: Henry Pratt Fairchild, Millard Lampell, and an outstanding actor-director. All welcome.

Lecture: "Moscow and Washington — Is Co-Existence Possible?" Speaker: Daniel Roberts, staff writer of The Militant. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m., 116 University Pl. Auspices: Friday Night Socialist Forum. Contribution: 25c.

Hear **CARL MARZANI** and feel better. Subject: "Why I Am An Optimist." Sun., Jan. 16, 8:15 p.m., ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Free refreshments. Cont. 75c.

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"YOUR STAKE IN THE FIRST AMENDMENT," community rally on the Bill of Rights. Speakers: Corliss Lamont, Carey McWilliams. Jan. 19, 8 p.m., at George Washington Hotel, Lexington Av. & 23d St. Special bonus for on-timers: first U.S. playing of "The Investigator," Canadian satirical broadcast on McCarthyism. Sponsor: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Adm: 49 cents.

A BANQUET honoring **HUGO GELLERT's** 40th Anniversary as a people's artist, Sun., Jan. 16, 3 p.m., Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Bvld., Bronx. Fine Hungarian Dinner, $3.50 per person. Chairman: **Howard Fast.** Main Speaker: **PAUL ROBESON.** Reservations: Committee, 130 E. 16th St.

Showing of **"AFRICA UNCENSORED,"** Sat., Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m. Talk by Dr. W. A. Hunton, social, music, free refreshments. Edna Riley Club, ALP, 29 Columbus Av. (1 flight up).

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MURDER IN N. Y.

Ask Harriman to stay death of 3 youths

THE N. Y. Court of Appeals, which by a slim 4-3 decision upheld the guilty verdict against three Puerto Rican youths charged with murder, has fixed the date of execution in the first week of February.

The three—Concepcion Estrada Correa and Henry Matthews, both 17, and Pedro Antonio Rios, 22—last March were convicted of murdering an 85-year-old woman. Though they might have saved their lives by pleading guilty to a lesser crime, each has insisted on his innocence. The trial was held at the height of anti-Puerto Rican hysteria brought on by the nationalist shooting in the House of Representatives. Witnesses and defendants alleged police third-degree. The jury was all-white and non-Puerto Rican.

APPEALS TO HARRIMAN: As the move for clemency got under way throughout the city, Gov. Harriman sent word to attorneys for the three that he would hold a hearing on the case later this month.

An unconfirmed report said that Judge Jonah Goldstein, who originally tried the case and sentenced the youths to death, had agreed to appeal to Harriman for clemency. The General Puerto Rican Confederation, a group representing many societies in New York, announced it had wired Gov. Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico seeking his backing for the campaign. After the death sentence was passed last spring Munoz reportedly took an interest in the case but held off action while it was still before the courts.

The Confedn. appealed to New Yorkers to write Harriman asking clemency. Though the 4-3 decision in the state's highest court stirred optimism among the defense attorneys, they pointed out that New Yorkers have been executed despite such plainly evidenced doubts about their trial. An appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court depended largely on whether the Confedn. could raise funds.

ROOTS OF CRIME: El Diario de Nueva York, Spanish-language N.Y. daily, which has taken up the case as a campaign, in an editorial (1/5) recalled the prejudice at the time of the trial and the fact that one of the youths, Estrada Correa, understands no English and therefore was at a disadvantage in defending himself.

El Diario said that a quarter of a century ago Puerto Rico abolished the death penalty and had seen no rise in crime. Instead of these executions, it called for "a war without quarter against evil living conditions."

PEOPLE AND PICTURES
One of the exhibits in the annual show of the Photographic Workshop of the N. Y. Arts, Sciences & Professions Council at Teachers Center Gallery, 206 W. 15th St., Jan. 14-Feb. 5. Show's theme: "Especially the People." Gallery hours are 7-10 p.m. weekdays; 3-10 p.m. Thurs.; 1-5 p.m. Sat. A reception at 8 p.m. Fri., Jan. 14 will open the show.

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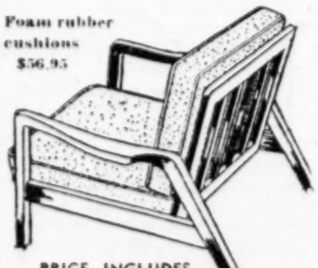

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EVENING IN THE THEATER

'The Troublemakers': Gripping play about fear on the college campus

AN AMERICAN playwright has looked at one of the most frightening aspects of the "cold war" demoralization of American life—the brutalization of youth—and presented it "just off Broadway" in a melodrama that leaves the critics understandably troubled. The chief character in George Bellak's **The Troublemakers** is Fear—the blight that Washington has spread over almost all levels of our society by almost a decade of concentrated lying accompanied by persecution of those who resist the lies.

Where intimidating pressures to conform cannot silence those who would pierce the blackout, physical brutality becomes socially "acceptable"—not directly and openly, but by a conspiracy to conceal its real motivation. In a grippingly written and staged scene in Bellak's play, a college student who insists on questioning the accepted lies of the day in the campus paper is beaten to death by a gang of campus drunks. The rest of the play shows not only the college authorities but the whole community, including the police and courts, joining—under a now intensified pall of fear—in the gruesome game of pretending the murder was merely the result of over-high-spirited student horseplay.

TRUTH COMES THROUGH: This is an effective play, not because its dramatic quality is consistently high—the writing dips regrettably in spots, and the non-campus characters are only sketchily realized—but because of its theme's essential truth and importance which, in the campus scenes, comes through with irresistible force. With bloodcurdling realism Bellak's climax shows that if somebody does not break the spell of fear with courage, all reason must abdicate its rule to violence.

The direction by Michael Howard and the acting by William Smithers, Lois Wheeler, Howard Wierum and the other principals are up to the standards of skill and sensitivity that the subject demands. A recommended play for all who prefer either to take their brains to the theater or stay home. —C. B.

THE TROUBLEMAKERS, by George Bellak; presented by Marc Productions at the President Theater, W. 48th St.

WED., JAN. 19

McWilliams and Lamont to speak

"YOUR Stake in the First Amendment" will be the subject of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's first Manhattan community meeting, Wed., Jan. 19, at the George Washington Hotel, Lexington Av. and 23d St. Speakers will be Columbia lecturer and philosopher Corliss Lamont, and Carey McWilliams, editorial director of **The Nation.** "The Investigator," satiric broadcast on the McCarthy investigations by Reuben Ship, which has caused a sensation in Canada and the U.S., will be played when the meeting opens at 8 p.m.

IMMIGRATION ACT

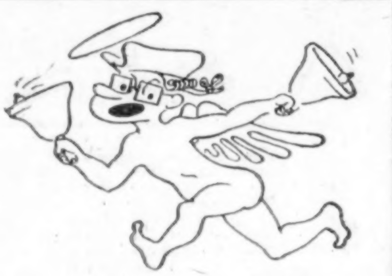
Repeal meeting

A PUBLIC meeting at 7 p.m. Monday, Jan. 17, at Yugoslav-American Hall, 405 W. 41st St., will map a campaign to repeal the Walter-McCarran Immigration law. The meeting is called by N. Y. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born.

Give an introductory sub to the Guardian.

HEAR YE! HEAR YE!

Guardian Forum



FRI., JAN 28—8 P.M.

Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av.

Admission $1 at door

'German Re-armament—Where Will It Lead?'

Where will the new Wehrmacht turn?
Is history to repeat itself in Europe?
How will the U. S. S. R. react?

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Guardian Theater Night

THURS., JAN. 27

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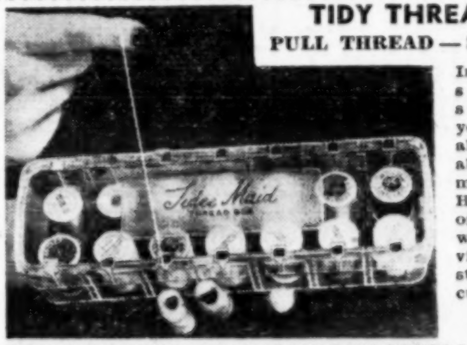

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the SPECTATOR

She dares to be free

This statement, by Florence Luscomb, one of the staunchest progressives of our time, was made Jan. 7 before the Massachusetts Commission to study Communism (for news story, see p. 3). Believing that it is in the best American cultural tradition we reprint it, in part, in the Spectator column.

IF, AS DR. HENRY VAN DYKE suggested, every human life is dominated by some ruling passion, mine has been ruled by love of my country. To me, patriotism demanded not the closing of one's eyes to the faults and misdeeds of one's country, but rather the fighting and ending of them, so making America better. It was intolerable that America should violate by racial and religious discrimination its principle that "all men are created equal." Intolerable that poverty in the midst of potential plenty should make a mockery of the pursuit of happiness for the ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed third of Americans. That injustices and inequalities should poison the very roots of democracy.

When the officers of government who, in the words of the Massachusetts Constitution, are the people's "agents and are at all times accountable to them," embarked on wrongful policies, it was not only my right as a free citizen but my duty as a good citizen to use my constitutional freedoms of conscience, speech, press, assembly and ballot to oppose them. This I have done, regardless of what lies were used to defeat the policies which I believed good for my country.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE WAS DENOUNCED as "subversive" when I was campaigning for it. The American League Against War and Fascism, of which I was secretary, was branded "red" by government agencies for "prematurely" fighting the fascism of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito, long years before it slaughtered a third of a million American youth. When militant labor leaders were framed and jailed for violence, like Tom Mooney and Angelo Herndon, and Negroes were framed as in the Scottsboro case, I took part in the defense.

Above all, I have tried to fight every attack on civil liberties. My forefathers fought to establish this nation as a free country. My grandfather served as a member of Congress during the Civil War to maintain it free. One of my great-uncles as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts strove to maintain its legal freedom. These things do not make me one whit better or worse than the poorest immigrant who landed yesterday, but they do make me feel an obligation to do my part in keeping American freedom inviolate today.

I WILL SPEAK ANYWHERE, on any platform, with anyone, in defense of the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution and the Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of Massachusetts. I defend the constitutional right of any American to advocate any political and economic views his conscience dictates, however unorthodox. To deny this is to defy the Supreme Court of the United States, which declared that "no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion."

I stated in the beginning that I knew of no one among my personal acquaintances who was subversive. I do know of subversion abroad in our land. It is subversion of the Bill of Rights when Congressmen and legislators pass Smith Acts and McCarran Acts and Brownell Bills and their counterparts on the state level. It is subversive to set up inquisitions like this, state or national, into the thoughts and consciences of Americans, into their speeches, their writings, their associations one with another, their political activities. It is subversive to starve Americans and their wives and little children by throwing them out of jobs because of their opinions. It is subversive to blast careers and lives of scientists and professors, writers and artists, doctors and medical researchers, and rob America of the priceless contributions they could have made to our national welfare. It is subversive for commissions like this, some of whose members claim to be pro-labor, to conspire with big corporations to attack labor just when negotiations are pending, to divide and wreck the union. It is subversive for commissions like this to spread such hysteria and intimidation throughout the land that Americans are afraid to sign petitions, afraid to read progressive magazines, afraid to make out checks for liberal causes, afraid to join organizations, afraid to speak their minds on public issues. Americans dare not be free citizens. This is the destruction of democracy.

YOU SUMMONED ME TO COME HERE and tell what I know about subversion. Gentlemen, this is the only subversion of which I have the slightest knowledge.

I will not be an accessory to your subversion. . . . Outside the walls of this compulsory inquisition I am eager to tell you and all my fellow-Americans my ideas and activities. But I cannot and will not tear up the Constitution and its guaranteed liberties, won with blood and tears. I cannot and will not be a party with you in destroying American democracy.